

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NEA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 PM-03 SPC-01 L-02

CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 DODE-00 AID-10 IGA-01

ACDA-10 MC-02 DRC-01 IO-03 TRSE-00 OMB-01 EB-03 /079 W

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R 141036Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2848

INFO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

CINCPAC

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 431

LIMDIS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MASS, PK, IN, US

SUBJ: PAKS REQUEST RADAR INSTALLATIONS SIMILAR TO THOSE PROVIDED INDIA.

MINISTER OF STATE FOR DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AZIZ AHMED, CALLED ME TO HIS OFFICE JANUARY 14 FOR A LONG DISCUSSION OF SECURITY AND MILITARY SUPPLY. HE HANDED ME AN AIDE-MEMOIRE "URGENTLY" REQUESTING THAT PAKISTAN BE PROVIDED MILITARY RADAR FACILITIES EQUIVALENT TO THOSE THAT THE US HAS SUPPLIED INDIA. THE FULL TEXT OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE IS GIVEN BELOW. THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR CONVERSATION AND MY COMMENTS WILL BE REPORTED IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE.

QUOTE 1. AFTER THE SINO-INDIAN CONFLICT OF 1962, THE USA INITIATED A MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROJECT TO IMPROVE INDIAN AIR DEFENCES. THE MAIN ITEMS TO BE SUPPLIED WERE: HIGH POWERED RADARS AND AUTOMATIC DATA LINK FOR PROCESSING AIR DEFENCE NEEDS.

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2. BY THE TIME OF THE INDO-PAKISTAN WAR OF 1965, INDIA

HAD RECEIVED SIX HIGH POWERED RADAR UNITS, ONE OF WHICH WAS INSTALLED AT BARNALA LOOKING TOWARDS WEST PAKISTAN WHILE ANOTHER WAS DEPLOYED TO COVER THE WHOLE OF EAST PAKISTAN. THE PROJECT RECEIVED A TEMPORARY SETBACK AS A RESULT OF THE EMBARGO IMPOSED BY THE US GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, IN 1967, THE USA RESUMED SUPPLIES TO INDIA ON THE BASIS OF DIRECT SALES. THE US GOVERNMENT OFFERED TO SUPPLY COMMUNICATION EQUIPMENT WORTH \$17 MILLION IF INDIA AGREED TO PAY FOR IT, BUT LATER FUNDS WERE MADE AVAILABLE UNDER THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME.

3. THE SO CALLED PEACE INDIGO PROJECT WAS THUS AGREED TO IN 1968, TO PROVIDE COMMUNICATION EQUIPMENT TO INDIA TO LINK UP SIX RADAR SETS, PREVIOUSLY PROVIDED UNDER THE "STAR SAPPHIRE" PROJECT. THE TOTAL COST OF THE PROJECT WAS \$19 MILLION OF WHICH FOREIGN MILITARY SALES CREDITS COVERED \$17 MILLION AND INDIA PAID ONLY \$2 MILLION. IN 1971, SUPPLIES UNDER THIS PROJECT WERE INTERRUPTED DUE TO THE ARMS EMBARGO.

4. IN OCTOBER, 1972, REPORTS APPEARING IN THE US PRESS REVEALED THAT "PEACE INDIGO" WAS LIKELY TO BE REVIVED AND THAT THE INDIANS HAD ALTERED ITS EMPHASIS FROM CHINA TO PAKISTAN. WHEN THE MATTER WAS TAKEN UP BY THE PAKISTAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON, MR. BRUCE LAINGEN OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT TOLD THE COUNSELLOR OF THE EMBASSY THAT DISCUSSIONS WITH THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN UNDER WAY IN ORDER TO FIND OUT A WAY "TO PROTECT THE SUPPLIER'S INTERESTS". HE DENIED PRESS REPORTS THAT THE ORIGINAL PROJECT HAD BEEN AMENDED TO COVER THE PAKISTAN BORDER WITH INDIA AS A RESULT OF THE CHANGE IN US POLICY TOWARDS CHINA.

5. ON DECEMBER 4, 1972, THE MATTER WAS TAKEN UP WITH THE US CHARGE D'AFFAIRES BY THE MINISTER OF STATE (THEN SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE). THE MINISTER OF STATE EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD HAVE BEEN UNDER WAY WITH NEW DELHI WHILE THE BAN ON THE SUPPLIES OF MILITARY AID TO PAKISTAN CONTINUED AND THAT "PROTECTING THE SUPPLIER'S INTERESTS" SHOULD BE RANKED ABOVE PAKISTAN'S SECURITY INTERESTS SINCE THE EQUIPMENT WOULD STRENGTHEN INDIA'S CAPA-

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BILITY FOR ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE ALONG PAKISTAN BORDERS.

6. ON DECEMBER 11, 1972, THE FORMER US CHARGE D'AFFAIRES AGAIN CALLED ON THE MINISTER OF STATE AND HANDED OVER A NOTE WHICH STATED THAT "PEACE INDIGO" PROVIDED NO RADARS, BUT RATHER TIED TOGETHER SIX RADARS, PREVIOUSLY SUPPLIED BY THE UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, IT WAS CONCEDED THAT ONE OF THE SIX RADARS LOCATED AT HALWARA HAD THE CAPABILITY TO

COVER PAKISTAN TERRITORY. THE NOTE ALSO CONTAINED THE ASSURANCE THAT "AS LONG AS THE TOTAL EMBARGO ON MILITARY EQUIPMENT EXPORTS CONTINUES, PEACE INDIGO REMAINS BLOCKED. POSSIBLE CIVILIAN ASPECTS OF THE PROJECT ARE NOT RELEVANT TO EXPORT APPROVAL SINCE THE PRIMARY PURPOSE IS MILITARY AND THE CONSIGNEE IS THE INDIAN MINISTRY OF DEFENCE."

7. A YEAR LATER IN DECEMBER, 1973, PRESS REPORTS REVEALED THAT THE PEACE INDIGO PROJECT WAS BEING RESUMED. CONSEQUENTLY, ON DECEMBER 13, 1973, THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR DEFENCE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS CALLED THE NEW US AMBASSADOR AND EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN. THE MINISTER REGRETTED THE FACT THAT PAKISTAN HAD NOT BEEN NOTIFIED ABOUT THIS STEP BY THE US GOVERNMENT. HE ADDED THAT INDIA NOT ONLY HAD SIX STATIC RADAR SETS BUT ALSO TWO MOBILE ONES AND THEIR COVERAGE NOW EXTENDED FROM KASHMIR TO RAJASTHAN. THE AMBASSADOR EMPHASIZED THE DEFENSIVE NATURE OF THE EQUIPMENT AND PROMISED TO CHECK UP DETAILS.

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ACTION NEA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10

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SPC-01 AID-10 IGA-01 ACDA-10 IO-03 TRSE-00 OMB-01

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R 141036Z JAN 74
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2849
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 431

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8. ON DECEMBER 21, 1973, THE AMBASSADOR WROTE A LETTER TO THE MINISTER AND EXPLAINED THE POSITION AS FOLLOWS:

"OUR RECORDS SHOW THAT CHARGE SOBER DISCUSSED THIS PROJECT WITH YOU AT SOME LENGTH IN DECEMBER OF LAST YEAR. AT THAT TIME OUR POSITION WAS (AS INDICATED IN THE COPY OF OUR NOTE WHICH YOU SHOWED ME) THAT THE PROJECT WOULD NOT BE RESUMED AS LONG AS WE HAD A POLICY OF TOTAL EMBARGO. OUR OWN RECORDS SHOW THAT YOU MADE THE REMARK AT THAT TIME THAT YOU ASSUMED, THEREFORE, BY THIS WORDING THAT WE WOULD RESUME THE PROJECT IF TOTAL EMBARGO WERE LIFTED. THEY SHOW ALSO THAT SOBER REPLIED TO THE EFFECT THAT HE THOUGHT THAT WAS PROBABLY A FAIR ASSUMPTION."

9. AS STATED IN THE AMBASSADOR'S LETTER THE MINISTER OF STATE HAD CLEARLY STRESSED LIFTING OF "TOTAL EMBARGO" AND
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NOT MERELY LIFTING OF "PARTIAL EMBARGO" ON SPARE PARTS. IN MARCH, 1973, THE UNITED STATES HAD MERELY LIFTED "PARTIAL EMBARGO" TO ALLOW THE SALE OF SPARE PARTS AND NON-LETHAL EQUIPMENT. PAKISTAN WANTED AND STILL WANTS LIFTING OF "TOTAL EMBARGO" AND RESUMPTION OF MILITARY AID. IF "TOTAL EMBARGO" WERE LIFTED AND MILITARY AID INCLUDING THE SUPPLY OF SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS WERE RESUMED, PAKISTAN WOULD SEE NO OBJECTION TO THE SUPPLY OF EQUIPMENT TO INDIA UNDER "PEACE INDIGO".

10. THE US AUTHORITIES HAVE EMPHASISED THE DEFENSIVE NATURE OF THE PEACE INDIGO PROJECT. HOWEVER, THE NOTE HANDED OVER BY MR. SOBER IN DECEMBER 1972, CLEARLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT "THE PRIMARY PURPOSE IS MILITARY AND THE CONSIGNEE IS THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE." THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT INDIA'S SURVEILLANCE CAPABILITY AND OFFENSIVE POTENTIAL AGAINST PAKISTAN WOULD BE GREATLY ENHANCED.

11. IF THE UNITED STATES MUST PROCEED WITH THE SUPPLY OF EQUIPMENT TO INDIA UNDER PEACE INDIGO, THE UNITED STATES MUST IN FAIRNESS ALSO SUPPLY SIMILAR RADAR EQUIPMENT, WHICH IS REGARDED AS OF A DEFENSIVE NATURE, TO PAKISTAN TO ENABLE HER TO IMPROVE THE COMMUNICATION NETWORK FOR PROTECTIVE SURVEILLANCE OF HER BORDERS AGAINST INDIA ON THE ONE SIDE AND AGAINST AFGHANISTAN AND THE SOVIET UNION ON THE OTHER. SUCH A COMMUNICATION NETWORK COULD SERVE, IN PEACE TIME, TO PROVIDE MORE EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER CIVIL AVIATION TRAFFIC AND BETTER METEOROLOGICAL FACILITIES.

12. PENDING THE FULL RESUMPTION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO

PAKISTAN BY THE UNITED STATES, PAKISTAN REQUESTS FOR THE
SUPPLY OF THE FOLLOWING EQUIPMENT ON AN URGENT BASIS:

- A) FOUR HIGH-POWERED, THREE DIMENSIONAL, RADARS TO
PROVIDE CONTINUOUS COVER OVER PAKISTAN'S AIR SPACE.
- B) TWELVE LOW-LOOKING RADARS FOR CONTROLLING ENTRIES
IN VITAL SECTORS INCLUDING ALL THE CIVIL AIRPORTS.
- C) TROPO SCATTER SYSTEM SIMILAR TO THE ONE SUPPLIED
TO INDIA.
- D) AUTOMATIC DATA PROCESSING SYSTEM SIMILAR TO THE
ONE SUPPLIED TO INDIA.
- E) ELECTRONIC COUNTER - COUNTER MEASURES (AS PAKI-
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STAN IS INTERESTED ONLY IN ONLY IN ENSURING HER SURVIVAL
THROUGH AN EFFECTIVE DEFENCE, THE RADARS AND
COMMUNICATIONS WOULD HAVE TO HAVE ADEQUATE PRO-
TECTION AGAINST ELECTRONIC COUNTER MEASURES).

ISLAMABAD, JANUARY 14, 1974. UNQUOTE.
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